

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-09 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15

IO-11 SAJ-01 OMB-01 ACDA-10 OES-05 ERDA-07 FEAE-00

EB-07 COME-00 /120 W

----- 007136

R 181854Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 6557

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CINC PAC HONOLULU

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, JA, UR, CH. GW

SUBJECT: REQUESTED TRANSLATION OF ARTICLE IN FAZ

REF: TOKYO 2122, DTG 120903Z FEB. 76

THE ARTICLE REQUESTED IN REFTEL APPEARED IN FAZ ON  
JANUARY 30 UNDER KLAUS W. BENDER'S BYLINE. UNOFFICIAL  
EMBASSY TRANSLATION FOLLOWS:

MOSCOW CONSIDERS BREAKING OFF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH  
TOKYO

SOVIET UNION INCREASINGLY WORRIED OVER JAPANESE-  
AMERICAN ASIAN POLICY/FEAR OF "ENCIRCLEMENT"

(TOKYO, JAN. 29) THE SOVIET UNION IS FOLLOWING  
WITH INCREASING CONCERN AMERICAN AND JAPANESE ASIAN  
POLICY AND IS APPARENTLY CONSIDERING THE POSSIBILITY OF  
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BREAKING OFF ITS NEGOTIATIONS WITH TOKYO CONCERNING A  
PEACE TREATY. ALTHOUGH THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION TO

TALK ABOUT A FREEZE BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND JAPAN, THE POLITICAL CLIMATE BETWEEN BOTH COUNTRIES HAS APPARENTLY COOLED DOWN AS A RESULT OF FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO'S UNSUCCESSFUL VISIT TO TOKYO. THIS IS ALSO REFLECTED IN A STATEMENT MADE TO THIS PAPER BY HIGH-RANKING SOVIET CIRCLES IN TOKYO. THE SOVIETS STATED, "IF THE SINO-JAPANESE TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP SHOULD ACTUALLY BE CONCLUDED, AND IF IT SHOULD CONTAIN, NO MATTER WHERE AND IN WHAT FORM, THE SO-CALLED 'ANTIHEGEMONY CLAUSE,' IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE THAT WE WILL CONTINUE OUR NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING A PEACE TREATY WITH JAPAN." THEY ALSO EMPHASIZED, "UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE VISIT TO MOSCOW OF THE JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER, WHICH IS PLANNED TO TAKE PLACE IN THE COURSE OF THIS YEAR AND WHICH IS MENTIONED IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE, WILL HAVE LOST ITS MEANING." THE SOVIET UNION WAS ONLY INTERESTED IN THE ANTI-SOVIET MEANING OF THE DISPUTED ANTIHEGEMONY CLAUSE, WHICH IS DIRECTED AT ANY LEADERSHIP CLAIM OF A BIG POWER IN ASIA. THE COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED AT THE END OF GROMYKO'S VISIT, AND THE VERBATIM REPETITION IT CONTAINS OF THE FORMULATION IN THE 1973 COMMUNIQUE CONCERNING THE CONTINUATION OF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, WOULD THEN BE OBSOLETE. IN THE SOVIET VIEW THE COMMUNIQUE WAS ONLY A "DECLARATION OF INTENT WITHOUT BINDING LEGAL RELEVANCE."

ACCORDING TO UNCONFIRMED JAPANESE PRESS REPORTS, THIS STATEMENT WAS GIVEN AS A COMMENT TO AN ALLEGED REMARK OF GROMYKO, WHO, IN HIS TALK WITH PRIME MINISTER MIKI, REPORTEDLY ANNOUNCED A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE SOVIET POLICY VIS-A-VIS JAPAN IN THE EVENT OF A CONCLUSION OF A PEACE TREATY BETWEEN TOKYO AND PEKING. THE SOVIET SOURCES LEFT NO DOUBT THAT, EVER SINCE THE PROCLAMATION BY PRESIDENT FORD OF THE "PACIFIC DOCTRINE" ON HIS WAY BACK FROM PEKING IN DECEMBER, MOSCOW VIEWS THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA IN ENTIRELY NEW WAYS, AND CONSEQUENTLY ASSESSES IT MUCH

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MORE SERIOUSLY. THE SOVIET SOURCE IS CONVINCED THAT WASHINGTON ENCOURAGES THE JAPANESE IN THEIR PRO-CHINA POLICY THAT WOULD ULTIMATELY END IN AN "ENCIRCLEMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION."

IT WOULD SEEM THAT THESE SOVIET CONCERNS WERE FURTHER INTENSIFIED BY PRIME MINISTER MIKI WHO, IN HIS POLITICAL POLICY TATEMENT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW SESSION PERIOD OF THE JAPANESE PARLIAMENT LAST WEEK, AGAIN CONFIRMED HIS INTENTION TO CONCLUDE THE TREATY OF

PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH PEKING AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE.  
MOSCOW'S BROAD HINT ( AND, FOR THE TIME BEING, IT OUGHT  
TO BE EVALUATED AS SUCH) IS AT THE SAME TIME THE  
EXPRESSION OF ITS RELATIVE POWERLESSNESS VIS-A-VIS  
JAPAN. NOTWITHSTANDING ALL ITS MILITARY MIGHT,

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R 181854Z FEB 76  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 6558  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USLO PEKING  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

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THE SOVIET UNION'S POSSIBILITIES OF INFLUENCE ARE  
LIMITED AND, SINCE JAPAN IS A GROUP OF ISLANDS, ARE  
RESTRICTED TO LITTLE PINPRICKS SUCH AS AIR SPACE  
VIOLATIONS OR FISHERY INCIDENTS. MORE EFFECTIVE MOVES,  
SUCH AS A NAVAL BLOCKADE TO CUT OFF JAPAN FROM ITS RAW  
MATERIAL SUPPLIES, WOULD BE LINKED WITH FAR-REACHING  
AND ALMOST INCALCULABLE CONSEQUENCES.

MOSCOW'S ATTEMPTS TO SOLICIT SUPPORT FOR ITS  
POSITION THROUGH PRO-SOVIET GROUPS IN JAPAN ARE BOUND  
TO FAIL BECAUSE OF THE MINIMAL REACTION WHICH ANYTHING

RUSSIAN ALWAYS FINDS IN THE JAPANESE PUBLIC.  
THE POSSIBILITY OF USING THE FLOURISHING SOVIET-JAPANESE  
COMMERCIAL RELATIONS TO EXERT PRESSURE UPON TOKYO IS  
RULED OUT BY SOVIET SELF-INTEREST. INSTEAD, THE SOVIET  
SOURCES REFER TO POSSIBILITIES OF FURTHER EXPANDING  
SOVIET-JAPANESE ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND OPTIMISTICALLY  
DISCUSS THE NEGOTIATIONS IN MOSCOW WITH A GROUP OF  
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JAPANESE COMPANIES CONCERNING THE SUPPLY OF TEN NUCLEAR  
POWER PLANTS WITH A TOTAL VALUE OF ABOUT 1.3 BILLION  
DOLLARS. JAPAN'S PRIME MINISTER MIKI WILL HAVE TO  
CONSIDER VERY CAREFULLY WHETHER HIS COUNTRY CAN AFFORD  
TO BE DRAGGED INTO THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT. MOSCOW,  
ON THE OTHER HAND, MUST ADMIT THAT ITS LEEWAY OF ACTION  
VIS-A-VIS JAPAN IS ASTONISHINGLY LIMITED AND MUST ASK  
ITSELF THE QUESTION WHETHER THE TRUMP CARD OF BREAKING-  
OFF THE PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN CAN  
REALLY SUCCEED.  
HILLENBRAND

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